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—The Bulletin of Tibetology seeks to serve the specialist as well as the general reader with an interest in this field of study. The motif portraying the Stupa on the mountains suggests the dimensions of the field—

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ANIMAL SYMBOLS IN MAURYA ART

Formal and Cultural Significance

—NIHARRANJAN RAY

More than half-a-century of study and research in the field of Indian archaeology and art history as much as in that of the history of early Indian religions, have made it familiar to even a casual student in these areas of knowledge, that the symbols of a few animals, notably those of the lion, the elephant, the bull and the horse, played a very meaningful role in early Buddhist art and literature, particularly in the art reared up by the Maurya emperor Aśoka and his two immediate predecessors. In the so-called Northern Buddhist tradition these symbols came increasingly to occupy a more important position, relatively speaking, than in the so-called southern or Pāli tradition. Yet the fact remains that it was the earlier, that is, the Southern or Pāli tradition which seems to have adopted these symbols from still earlier religions (Vedism and Brahmanism), incorporated them in its own body of myths and legends and given them wide currency. While this incorporation seems to have been taking place even from the time of the Buddha himself there does not seem to be any doubt that the wide popularity of these symbols was due to what Aśoka did in this regard.

A little over thirty years ago I referred but briefly to these animal symbols and tried to explain their significance in Maurya art and culture¹. In recent years two competent and fairly detailed contributions have been made to the study of the subject by two scholars, the first one by Balkrishna G. Gokhale² and the second, by John Irwin³. Gokhale's analysis and interpretation while shedding some new light from textual evidence, generally upholds all that I said in brief, and there is pretty little that I can add. Irwin's canvas is very much bigger, in which the symbolism of the columns and its meaning and purpose occupy a most dominant position. Nevertheless he has quite a few pertinent things to say about the animal symbols too. Since not long after Irwin's series of lectures I published a long critique covering all that he had said,⁴ I thought I had nothing more to say on his comments on animal symbols in early Indian art. Indeed, when the esteemed editor of this journal asked me to give him a short paper on this theme, I put forward this plea, giving my reasons at the same time. But he insisted, arguing that I should re-state my position, howsoever briefly, if for nothing else at least to say how I viewed the situation in retrospect. This then is what I propose to do in this brief note.

II

It is common knowledge, more or less, among scholars that the tall and tapering, free-standing Maurya columns were but translations in monolithic terms, of the traditional, tall and tapering *śāla-stambhas* which used to serve the purpose of *dhvaja-stambhas* or flag-posts set up by the tribal people to mark significant spots and/or events. Attempts have also been made to explain these *stambhas* as symbolizing the *axis munde* or the world axis connecting the bowels of the earth below and the wide, open heaven above. Personally

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I do not seem to see any conflict between the two explanations since the symbolism of the world axis may not have been altogether beyond the imagination and practice of tribal peoples.

One also knows that these wooden *stambhas* were traditionally crowned with animal capitals. Early Pāli texts speak of an architectural motif called *hatthinakhaka* which was nothing but a pillar-capital with four elephant heads shown back to back.⁵ That this was not just a figment of imagination is proved by what remains of early Buddhist architecture of the two centuries on each side of the beginning of the Christian era, and if there could be pillar-capital with figures of elephants there is no reason why there could not be such capitals with figures of such other traditionally well-recognized animals as the bull, the lion and the horse as indeed there were if one can go by the evidence of early Buddhist architecture. Normally these capitals must have been fashioned out of wood since pre-Maurya architectural constructions were generally of wood, in which case the matter of affixation of the capital with the shaft could not have been a difficult problem. But Irwin argued in course of his lectures that when the pillars were shaped and formed of wood the crowning animal capital was one of cast copper, gilded in all likelihood, in support of which he cited both literary and archaeological evidence. Personally I have no reasons to doubt his hypothesis. According to him the heavy metal animal was affixed to the wooden shaft by means of a dowel and an exterior binding of fabric and rope, to prevent the wooden shaft from splitting. That a copper dowel was made use of for affixation of the capital with the shaft even when the two members were of stone, has been proved archaeologically in the case of the Maurya column with the capital, at Rampurva.

Once more it is more or less common knowledge that the translation from originals in wood, to monolithic columns and animal capitals in terms of stone, was not certainly an Aśokan innovation. By his own admission in his Seventh Pillar Edict as much as on grounds of shape and form, one knows today that of the free-standing columns which we have any knowledge of up-to-date, there are atleast two which are pre-Aśokan, namely, the Vaiśālī and the Sāñkiśya pillars, the former with a lion capital and the latter, with an elephant one. This is a view which I have been holding for long. But Irwin suggests, on his own arguments, that there were quite a few others besides which were also pre-Aśokan. I have already indicated that one may find it difficult to fall in a line with him in this regard. But be that as it may, the weight of facts known and arguments advanced so far by scholars like Chanda⁶, Barua⁷, Gokhale, Irwin and myself that is, those who have articulated themselves on this particular point, tend to leave no doubt that Asoka was the one individual who caused to be raised the largest number of monolithic columns with lithic animal capitals, popularizing thereby the symbols of the four animals, namely, those of the lion, the elephant, the bull and the horse. The main purpose of his raising monolithic columns was to record his edicts of *dhamma* and to mark certain spots sanctioned by the association of the Buddhas including the Buddha Śākyamuni. Of the Maurya pillars known to date, at least eleven have epigraphs inscribed on them; I have no doubt in my mind that these eleven at least were raised at the instance of Aśoka himself. Indeed, I would argue on the basis of what little I can perceive of a monarch of Aśoka's fibre and fervour, that he would not choose to have his edict inscribed on a column which he himself had not caused to be raised. He must have raised more than eleven columns but he might not have found

time and opportunity to have them inscribed. Of the columns known to us so far, inscribed or not, pre-Aśokan and Aśokan, the animal capitals of eight alone we have before us; these are either in position or were recovered later detached from their original position. An analysis of these capitals reveal that as many as five of them represented the symbol of the lion, three in singles and two in quadripartites. And if Fa-Hien is to be believed, one may add another, the lion capital of a column at Sāñkiśya.⁸ The bull symbol is represented in two places, singly at Rampurva and in quadripartite, at Salempur. The elephant is represented at Sāñkiśya alone, and Hiuen Tsang testifies that the Rummindei or Lumbini pillar was crowned by a horse capital⁹, a piece of evidence which I do not see any reason to disbelieve. The abacus of the quadripartite lion capital at Sarnath shows three animals, each in its characteristic gait, which were held as sacred by Aśoka, following the current Buddhist tradition. There is a fourth one which is at the top. These four animals are the lion, the elephant, the bull and the horse. This fact clinches the issue, it seems; a column with a horse capital is not therefore anything which one may not expect. One may argue however that, comparatively speaking, the horse as a symbol plays a lesser role in early Buddhist literature and art than the three other animals. Except in the legend of *Mahābhini-shkramaṇa*, the horse does not seem to appear in Buddhist legends in any significant manner. From the evidence of animal capitals one might also argue that the elephant too, played a lesser role since we do not have any elephant capital other than the one at Sāñkiśya. But this would not be a valid argument. In Buddhist legends the elephant appears again and again as an important symbol, and Aśoka himself pays homage to this great animal more than a couple of times : first, there is that majestic figure of the dignified animal at Dhauri and the word *Seto* or the 'white one' at the end of the Dhauri Rock Edict, otherwise known as the Kalinga Edict; secondly, the phrase alluding to the white elephant below the Thirteenth Girnar Rock Edict; and thirdly, the word *gajatame* or 'the best of elephants' and the big, incised drawing of an elephant on the north face of the Kalsi rock. These pieces of facts are enough to show that the elephant symbol was indeed a very prized one, next only to the lion symbol which was certainly the most significant one so far as Aśoka himself was concerned, the bull symbol being the third, if one has to hold close to the evidence of the Maurya free-standing columns.

III

Long ago I suggested that these four animal symbols were not specifically Buddhist symbols but were known earlier to Vedism and Brahmanism. These were potent and meaningful symbols at the time of the Buddha and Mahāvira and their immediate followers who saw no reason why they should not adopt and incorporate them in their myths, legends and ideational repertoire. Gokhale in his excellent paper already referred to, has laid bare in detail the Vedic, Brahmanical and popular background of these symbols and shown how these were incorporated in the Buddhist tradition. The literary evidence cited by him "indicates that these four animals had become fixed in folk memory, literary usage and art before Aśoka used them on his own monuments. All of them had acquired distinct 'personalities' and had quasi-divine associations rooted in both the Brahmanical and Buddhist traditions". He has also taken the trouble to cite reference from early Buddhist literature with a view to find out how these four animal symbols came "to acquire specific Buddhist meanings in Early Buddhist thought". He rightly says : "The argument that these animals also have a special symbolic meaning

in Brahmanical tradition does not deprive them of the special meaning attached to them in the Early Buddhist tradition".¹⁰

Generally speaking, the lion who is traditionally regarded as the king of the forest and the most powerful and most majestic of all animals, has a specific meaning in the early Buddhist tradition. The Buddha was Śākya-simha, the lion of the tribe of the Śākyas; his voice is the voice of the lion, the *simhanāda*. The elephant especially the white one, enters the womb of Māyādevī in dream; the Bodhisattva is born as a white elephant; the Buddha is a tamer of elephants; a Buddhist *arhat* is unafraid and roams in the wilderness all by himself, just as an elephant does. And if the implications of early Buddhist literature can be interpreted to have any cultural significance, the Buddha was the bull, the most significant inseminator, amongst all contemporary teachers and leaders, of new ideas, thoughts and visions. Finally the horse which apart from its role in the legend of the Great Departure, was, along with the elephant, regarded as another important symbol of royalty, of universal monarch, in both temporal and spiritual sense. These two animals were also considered as jewels or *ratnāni* of *cakkavatti* kings and their flesh was forbidden to be eaten since they were, along with the lion, regarded as "royal" animals. Then there is the mythical Anotatta Lake which was supposed to have four outlets shaped and formed like the lion, the horse, the bull and the elephant. There is thus no doubt that these four animals were each invested in early Buddhist tradition with a strong symbolical meaning and the four together seem to have made up a close preserve in which no other animal, not even the deer of the *isipatana-migadāva*, could enter. The reason is very clear indeed. The Buddha was considered a *rāja-cakkavatti*, a universal monarch, a *mahāpurusha* or a great leader of men, strong, powerful, dignified and majestic, all doubtless in a spiritual sense, and these four animals, individually and collectively, symbolized these qualities.

But one may as well argue that these are as much temporal qualities as spiritual and that any temporal king aspiring to be an *ekarāt*, a sovereign monarch, would like to acquire these very qualities and become a personification of majesty and dignity, a great leader of men, so strong and powerful as to be able to strike terror into the hearts of his enemies. In non-Buddhist secular literature and in frankly Brahmanical texts important kings and emperors and temporal heroes have actually been described as endowed with these qualities and compared invariably, through similes and metaphors, with the lion, the elephant, the bull and the horse. If therefore one chooses to comment that there is nothing specifically Buddhist in the totality of this animal symbology, one would not be perhaps logically in the wrong.

When therefore Aśoka and his predecessors adopted these animal symbols, I feel like arguing, they did so because in the current tradition and in the people's imagination these four animals symbolized the temporal qualities of wide sovereign authority, of dignity and strength, of potency and power, of supranormal energy and awesome majesty, not in any spiritual sense or in any specifically Buddhist meaning except in the case of the elephant perhaps. In more than a couple of places in Aśoka's inscription this animal is referred to, though very briefly, in such terms as to suggest specifically Buddhist associations and to imply a religious regard. But even in this case, the religious association and/or emotion need not be interpreted to exclude temporal strength and energy, power and potency, dignity and majesty. Religion and temporal

authority and power have been known to co-exist in human societies in close mutual understanding and accommodation.

IV

A Maurya column and its animal capital constitute one single whole, formally, functionally and conceptually. The two elements have to be seen and understood together, not separately, that is, one away and apart from the other. Looked at as a unified whole these free-standing columns with animal capitals are not religious monuments as such but are frankly monuments that were meant to serve a temporal social purpose and at the same time, to respond to a decided royal intention. Aśoka himself called these columns *dharmastambhas* which recorded his royal edicts enunciating his social policies. Formally and aesthetically speaking, the smooth, glossy polish, the durable design, the dignified appearance and the imposing stateliness of the columns and capitals were all intended to impress and over-awe the people with the power, dignity and majesty of the imperial rulers, significantly of Aśoka more than of his predecessors. This is a view which I articulated in 1945; I do not see any reason to abandon this view. Everywhere in the ancient and medieval world all imperial monuments as distinguished from religious establishments and residential palaces, were intended to and did serve the same purpose.

A brief formal analysis of the shaft of the column and of the animal capitals themselves will make it clearer perhaps and reveal the various shades and nuances, even the differences in the treatment of the different animals. Here too, I should perhaps be repeating what I said more than thirty years ago.

I have already said that the shaft of the columns which was above ground was always and invariably polished to an extraordinarily smooth and glossy surface which must have impressed the contemporary people much more than it does us today. That this was a technology and practice which were imported from contemporary west Asian world of imperial power and grandeur, there cannot perhaps be any doubt about. But what is more significant is the fact that while the pre-Aśokan columns are relatively short and stumpy, the Aśokan ones, when arranged according to a chronological sequence, show a course of evolution towards gaining in height, taperingness, gracefulness and in proportionate balance and harmony. Indeed, this process of formal evolution is an index to their chronological fixation in time. One cannot therefore underline too much that all this was directed towards creating an impression on the sensibilities and perceptions and on the minds and imagination of the people, not merely to articulate a symbolic meaning in concrete forms. One may also bear in mind that irrespective of wherever these pillars were erected, they were all carved out of Chunar sandstone, which would mean that these were all fashioned in one central workshop which could not have been very far from modern Chunar itself and then transported from there to wherever they were set up. This could not have been possible without the conception and design, initiative, support and patronage of a central, unified politico-economic authority. This authority was that of the imperial monarch Aśoka and his predecessors.

From the point of view of form and treatment the animals represented, fall in two categories, more or less distinct: the lions, both singly recouchant and quadripartite, seated back to back, belong to one category, and elephants

and the Rampurva bull, to another. The horse of the Lumbini pillar is missing, but if one can form a judgement from the horse represented on the abacus of the Sarnath pillar, the form and treatment would fall in the first category. The animals of this category are somewhat conventional and stylized in treatment; the volume is tellingly powerful but the modelling is stagnant and accumulation of form schematic. They, particularly the lions, are frankly heraldic in form and meaning. I have no doubt in my mind that the original model of this form was derived from the Medo-Achaemenian and Hellenistic West Asia. It was from this source that the quadripartite, seated back to back form of lions, bulls, elephants and horses was also doubtless derived.

Not so the forms of the Rampurva bull and of the elephants. Not only these are not heraldic in form, but their treatment is frankly naturalistic. The Rampurva bull is characterized by a quiet, restrained dignity; its modelling is vigorous but not conventional and the linear and plastic treatment fully mature but not schematized. Compared to this bull, that on the abacus of the Sarnath capital is a conventional one though not heraldic; its modelling is coagulated and tension in movement over-emphasised. Despite the Sāñkiśya elephant being a somewhat clumsy one the Maurya elephants as one sees them on the Sarnath abacus, at Dhauli, on the Kalsi rock face and on the facade of the Lomasa Rishi cave, are however frankly naturalistic. Dignified in their full roundity of form they are characterized by a clear linear rhythm and a flowing plasticity.

How does one explain this difference in aesthetic vision and treatment? Has it been because of artists from two different cultures and two different social backgrounds working side by side in the same royal workshop? Or/ and could it be that the artists were not that familiar with the lion which was a wild animal as they were with the domesticated ones, the elephant and the bull in particular? And therefore they borrowed from another civilization the form of the lion which had already been conventionalized there in its heraldic form? The non-heraldic but nevertheless conventional and stylized treatment of the horse and the bull on the Sarnath abacus can however be explained by the assumption of non-Indian artists giving them shape and form in Indian environs.

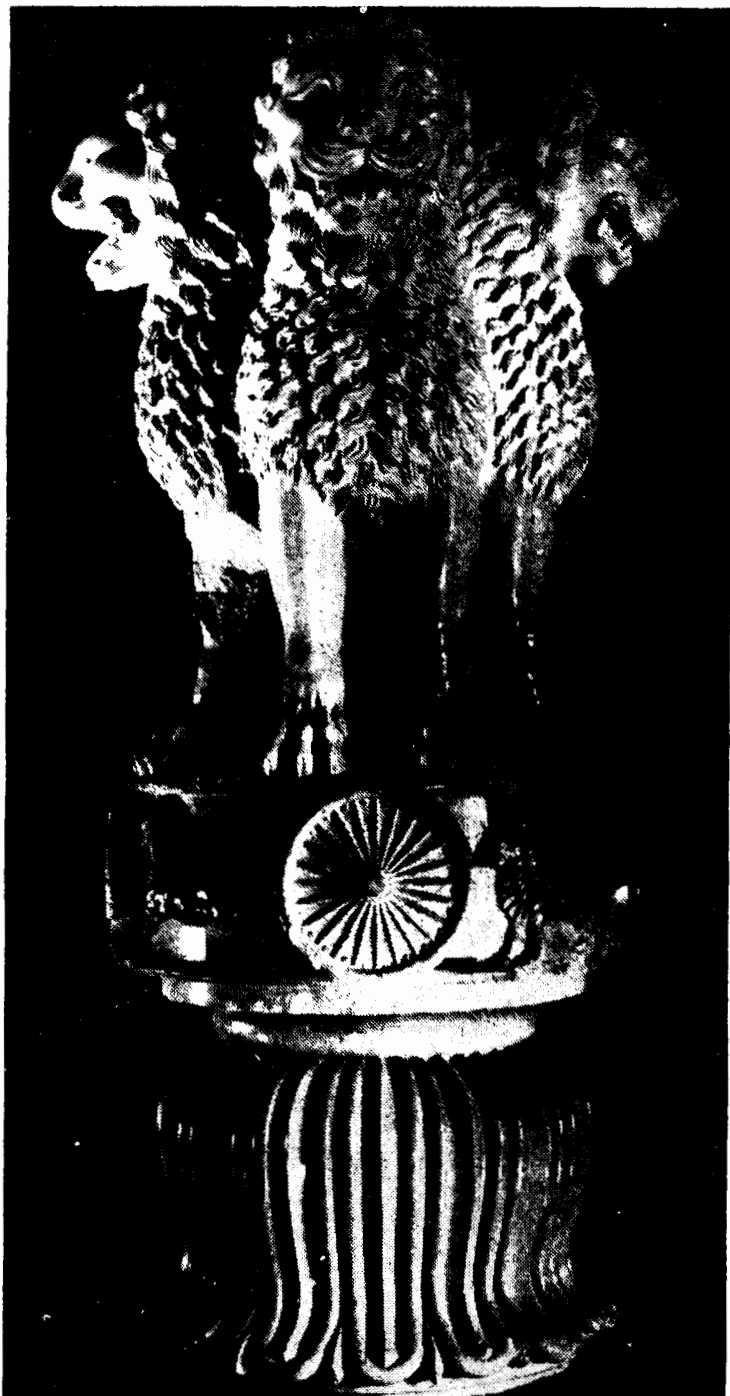
The animal symbols of Maurya art seem to show that though the symbols may have their origin and evolution in one given civilization their articulation in the concrete form of art may have different languages of form.

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2. Gokhale, Balkrishna G., "Animal symbolism in early Buddhist literature and art", in *East and West*, IsMEO, Rome, New Series 24, nos. 1-2, pp. 111-120.
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the *Burlington Magazine*, London, but the final revised version is expected to be published early in book form.

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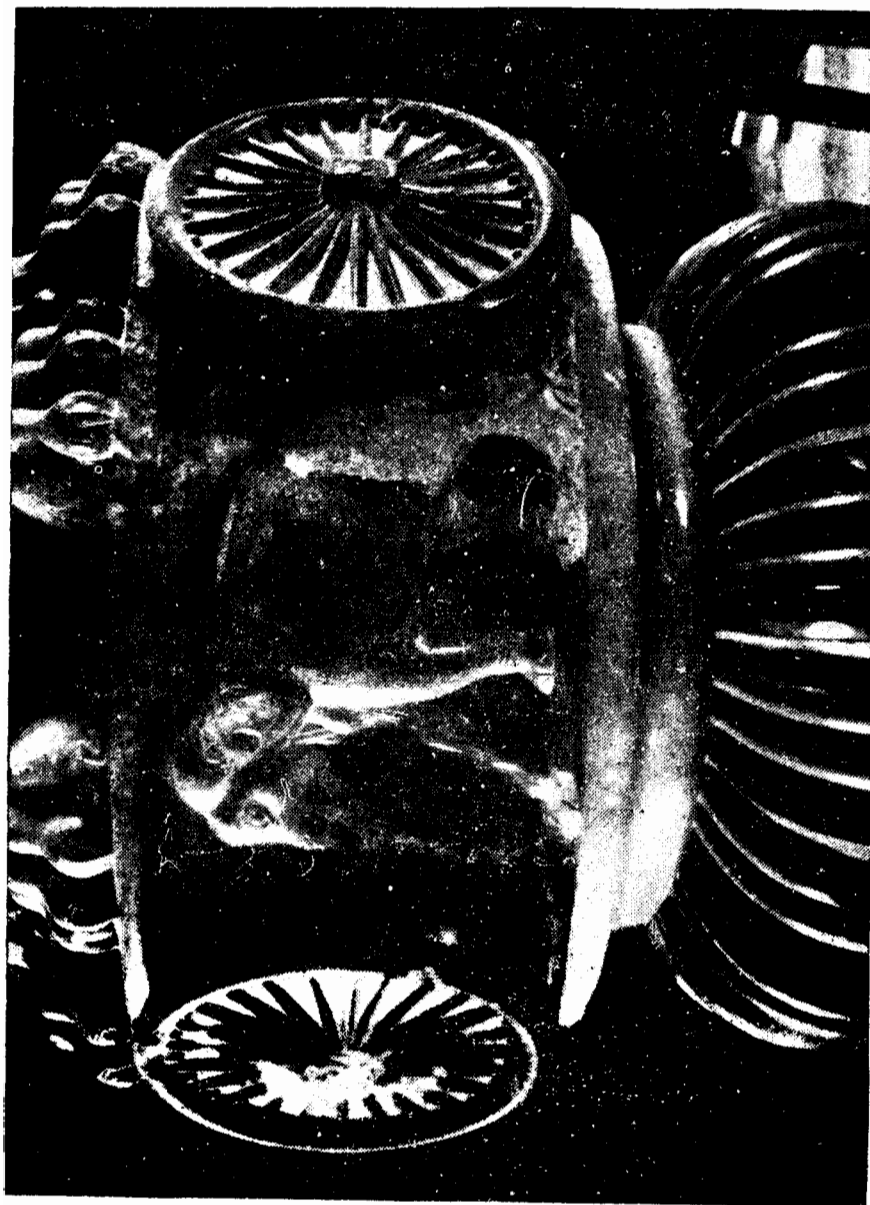
The Lion capital, Sarnath



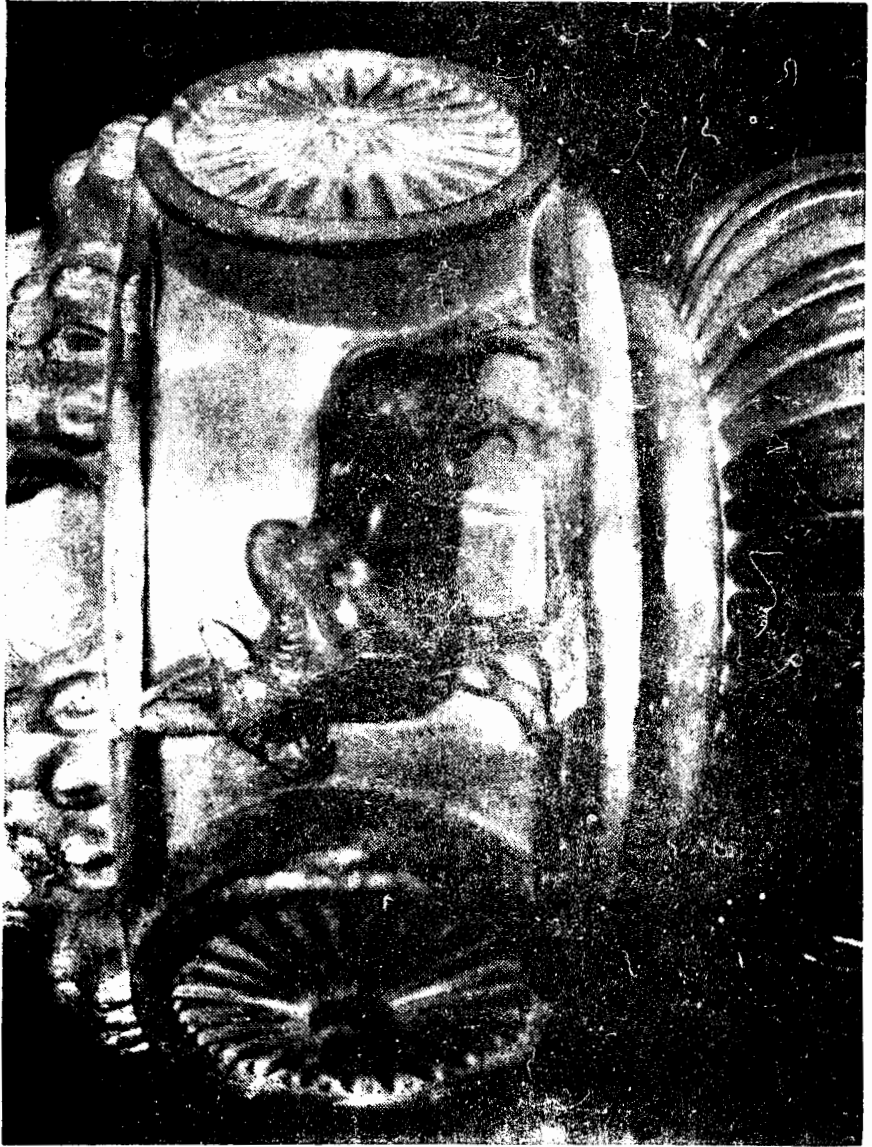
The Lion capital, Sanchi



The Elephant (rock-cut), Dhaulvi



The Elephant (on abacus), Sarnath



The Bull (on abacus), Sarnath



The Horse (on abacus), Sarnath

SANSKRIT ACROSS THE HIMALAYAS

—NIRMAL C. SINHA

I

It is a common place of Oriental studies that India has shared the heritage of Sanskrit with other countries. On purely philological considerations the ancient-most Sanskrit is the matrix of the speeches of more than half of mankind through ancient and modern times. On deeper philosophical considerations Sanskrit is reputed to have made profound impact on foreign mind, Mleccha or Yavana. The response to Vedānta or Kālidāsa of distant foreigner from Plato and Plotinus to Schopenhauer and William Jones has so much exercised the imagination of our scholars that the role of Sanskrit in the cultural milieu of our neighbours is often overlooked. Countries across the Himalayas happened to be most important acquisitions of Sanskrit abroad and yet more than the Trans-Himalayan highlands other lands interest Indian Sanskritists. This is despite the fact that India produced two pioneers in the field, namely, Sarat Chandra Das and Rahul Sankrityayana. I have no claim to be a Sanskrit scholar. It is only as a student of history, specializing in the survivals of Indian culture abroad, that I venture to present the contribution of Tibet and Mongolia to Sanskrit through the ages. The story of Indian Panditas and their Bhota collaborators is an edifying chapter in the history of Asia.

The history of Asia is a sort of triangular complex composed of Iranic, Sanskritic and Sinic traditions. Much of Asian history is the product of permutation and combination of the three. In Northern Buddhist terms, history is a process of flux and there is no set pattern in history except the *Dharma*; and strange are the ways of the *Dharma*. The encounter between Sanskrit and other traditions had thus no fixed norm in history. It is now well known that in the confines of Indic sub-continent Sanskrit yielded, in different ways, to Irano-Persian and Sino-Mongoloid encroachments while in the highlands of Trans-Himalayas Sanskrit most successfully encountered Iranic and Sinic traditions, both in linguistic form and literary expression.

Yet the Sanskrit which accomplished this *Digvijaya*, from Kashmir to Kokonor or from Bangala to Baikala, had no title to high caste; this Sanskrit hardly conformed to the grammar or finesse of what is called Vedic or Classical form. Buddha Śākyamuni is known to have spoken the dialects of the diverse regions. In short Buddha did not preach in "perfected and refined form" which happened to be the preserve of the Brāhmaṇa and the Kṣatriya. So Sanskrit, Vedic or Classical, was first ruled out "for the profit of the many, for the bliss of the many and out of compassion for the world". Yet Sanskrit and nothing but Sanskrit was found worthy and capable of expressing or expounding the Perfected Wisdom or Transcendental Learning. Thus the texts of *Prajñāpāramitā* and the commentaries and dissertations of the saints and scholars from Nāgārjuna (c. 150) to Atiśa (c. 980-1054) happened to be in

Reproduced from the *Proceedings of the First International Sanskrit Conference 1972* (New Delhi, 1975).

Sanskrit which Brahmanical and Hindu scholars described as bad or impure Sanskrit. Recently, some western scholars have started calling this medium Hybrid Sanskrit. Nepali scholars and Vajrācaryās are also not happy with the label Hybrid as Nepal for centuries has preserved the learning enshrined in Buddhist Sanskrit and for a century now has been helping the modern scholars to explore the esoteric texts in this medium. The Buddhist Sanskrit had to be bad or impure, as conformity to Vedic or Classical grammar would have made the new lore more obscure and less open than the ancient one. The spirit of tolerance and the anxiety for adaptation, which made Buddhism the national creed wherever the *Dharma* migrated, accounted for the historic success of Sanskrit Buddhism outside India, particularly in Tibet and Mongolia.

II

“The waters of Ganga made fertile the arid steppes of Inner Asia”. That is how a German scholar had described the great efflorescence of Buddhist literature in the sands and snows of Inner Asia. The Bhagiratha who took the stream to the arid north was in the grateful imagination of Northern Buddhists, come from Vārānasi, where Buddha Śākyamuni had turned the Wheel of Law. In trans-Himalayan legend the Sacred Lotus after it withered away in Vārānasi blossomed in Lhāsa, and the Master’s “body, speech and mind” made a re-appearance in the Trans-Himalayan highlands. Lhāsa in welcoming Sanskrit was no doubt sheltering the language of the Land of Enlightenment and Bod-skad (Tibetan) as the medium of the *Dharma* became as sacred as Sanskrit. The layout, content and presentation of Tibetan canon and all later works down to the last days of Lamaism have been such that a Nepali Vajrācārya proud of his country having been the refuge of Sanskrit learning has no hesitation to describe Bod-skad (Tibetan) as Lhāsa Sanskrit. By the label Lhāsa Sanskrit a Nepali Buddhist would not merely imply that the Tibetan script is derived from Sanskrit source but also acclaim that Tibetan literature preserves the treasures of Sanskrit literature. Much of the original are lost to the world today while most of the remnants in Sanskrit the world owes to the care and zeal of Nepali scholars during the centuries when Sanskrit learning in the Land of Enlightenment was in shade. Western scholarship would testify further that the monastic universities in Tibet and Mongolia not merely preserved the treasures of Sanskrit but also developed the Sanskrit traditions in their seats. Thus Logic and Metaphysics, Medicine and Chemistry from India flourished in Sakya, Tashilhunpo, Drepung, Derge, Kumbum and Urga.

Why the legendary author of Tibetan alphabet, Thomi Sambhota, did not seek inspiration for a script from the great neighbouring country in the east, has puzzled many Sinologists today. As the medium of expression in the Celestial Empire, the Chinese script had a sanctity of its own. Mastery of the ideograph was a hall-mark of academic and bureaucratic power inside the Middle Kingdom while beyond the outermost frontiers of the Middle Kingdom the ideograph was a symbol of culture. A barbarian speaking the Celestial language was a lesser barbarian and if a barbarian could read and write the script his access to power and privilege in the Celestial court was ensured. Besides dissemination of Chinese language and Chinese script beyond the Han frontiers was a fundamental principle of imperial statecraft throughout history. Thus the Manchu, the Mongol and even the Turki (Uighur) had to accept Chinese language and script for varying periods to

varying degrees and the vertical form was adopted in Manchu and Mongol scripts. An American Sinologist has therefore described the Tibetan escape from Chinese language and script as an inexplicable phenomenon. The truth of the matter is that the Tibetan speech is not as near the Han as many Sinologists presume. If the term Mongoloid is used in a wide sense both Tibetan and Chinese languages are Mongoloid languages. Tibetan is also a tonal speech like Chinese but Tibetan is not so predominantly monosyllabic as Chinese. Even if there are affinities, as presumed by some Sinologists, an ideograph established in one language is not necessarily adequate for the imagery and idiom of another. While linguistics and morphology conceal the secrets of failure of Chinese ideograph in Tibet, Tibetans have their own explanation for the success of Sanskrit *Akṣara*. Sixteen years ago in Tashilhunpo and Drepung I made enquiries as to why the pictograph was found unsuitable for transcription of Tibetan speech and how did Thomi Sambhota and his colleagues adjudicate the claims of different Indo-Iranian and Mediterranean scripts. I had in mind that the Brāhmī script was possibly an import from the west of *Saptasindhu* and that in the first half of the seventh century Kharosthi and several other scripts were prevalent in the regions west and northwest of Tibet. The answer of the Tibetan scholars was, however, as simple as the Tibetan mind. I was told that there was no need to adjudicate the merits of different phonetic scripts known to Thomi and his friends. The need for a script had arisen out of the need for translating Buddhist texts in Tibetan language. It was thus "a good act" or "a natural process", interdependent on the other processes of *Dharma* as in *Pratītyasamutpāda*. Thus the script had to be looked for in the same region from where came the Sacred Books. The process did not end with the *Svara Vyañjana* of Sanskrit or the horizontal *Rūpa* from left to right. The Tibetan book, though made of paper, did not follow the format of Chinese scroll but adopted the palm-leaf format of India. An honorific designation for a Tibetan loose-leaf book is *Poti* derived from Sanskrit *Punthi/Pustika*. Indic or Sanskritic sentiments for books and learning have influenced Tibetan mind ever since.

To start with, the invention of alphabet was treated as a divine gift as in Sanskrit tradition; Brāhmī was reputed to have come from the mouth of Brahmā. It is not certain whether Thomi Sambhota, the formulator of alphabet, devised his set of thirty letters from the archaic Nāgarī (Ranjana/Lantsha) or from Kashmiri (Sārāda) characters. What is certain and indisputable, both among Tibetan believers and modern scholars, is that the Tibetan alphabet was of Brāhmī origin. It is curious that while the words Brāhmī and Nāgarī were obsolete in many Indian vernaculars by the beginning of the nineteenth century, these words were current among the Lamas and other learned people all over the Tibetan-speaking world. A Sanskrit-Tibetan Thesaurus of 1771 from Kham enters the word Brāhmī with its Tibetan equivalent as the first item under the head "speech". This was undoubtedly following the ancient Sanskrit tradition. For instance, the *Lalitavistara* list of sixty-four kinds of writing begins with Brāhmī. It is relevant to point out that in India the term Brāhmī was a re-discovery towards the middle of the nineteenth century, thanks to archaeologists and epigraphists. In Tibet terms like *Akṣara*, *Śabda*, *Vāk* or *Varṇa* came to be sanctified exactly as in India and each term was most meticulously translated to convey the different meaning under different contexts. The veneration for *Akṣara* as in traditional India was fully reflected in Tibet in handling of books as if they were icons. I was surprised to notice such usage in Tibet in 1955-56. A Tibetan book, even if it be on a mundane matter, cannot be left on the floor or cast away

like an old pair of shoes. The Imperishable Object, as the Sacred Letter or *Akṣara*, is the heart of the matter. Much later in Sikkim I had another experience. A signboard warning the visitors to take off their shoes while entering the temple was fixed right on the floor. The signboard was intended mainly for the foreigners and the trilingual inscription : Tibetan, Hindi and English, was my responsibility. On protest against the written word being on the floor I had proposed that the Tibetan inscription could be erased and the signboard left as it was. An ordinary man, who was not a monk or priest, protested that Nāgarī script being the matrix was more sacred than even the Tibetan. The signboard had to be raised a few inches from the floor but still today no Tibetan or Sikkimese would keep his shoes near that trilingual inscription. The Tibetan veneration for Nāgarī as the kin of Brāhmī should be an enlightenment to several Indian scholars who, having read Sanskrit in the Western seats of Occidental learning, champion transcription of Sanskrit works in Roman and would discard Nāgarī as internationally less honourable than Roman. I am not a linguist nor by any means am good in reading scripts obsolete in our country today. But for me the most important evidence of Indian culture in Sikkim, Tibet and even the Baikals has been the most ubiquitous presence of the Six Mystic Syllables OM-MA-NI-PAD-ME-HUM on rocks and boulders, *stūpas* and temples, prayer-wheels and altars; and I had not the least doubt on my first sight of Six Mystic Syllables that the Tibetan *Akṣara* was a *Rūpa* of Sanskrit *Akṣara*.

The Tibetan veneration for the Sacred Letter from the Land of Enlightenment was also expressed in calling the vowels and consonants as *Ali* and *Kali*, the two mystic terms used in Tantra but can be traced back to the Veda. The learned Tibetan unhesitatingly affirms that *Akṣara* goes back to pre-Buddhist times in Rig-jhe, that is the Veda. The adoration of *Vāk* and *Akṣara*, Brahman and Sarasvatī in *Rg Veda* and later literature needs no presentation to an assemblage of Sanskritists. What needs emphasis here is that Sarasvatī is the only Vedic deity and for that matter the only Brahmanical or Hindu deity who is held in highest adoration in Mahāyāna pantheon and therefore in Northern Buddhist countries like Tibet and Mongolia. While other Hindu deities like Brahmā, Indra or Gaṇeśa were incorporated into Mahāyāna pantheon simply as accessory deities aiding and serving Buddha Śākyamuni or other Buddhas and while even some Hindu deities were depicted under the feet of a Buddha or held in utmost ridicule, Sarasvatī was admitted as a goddess on her own right. The Mahāyāna veneration for Sarasvatī progressed across the Himalayas, and as Yang-chen in Tibet and Mongolia, Sarasvatī is the deity for scholars and laymen alike irrespective of any sectarian considerations. The Tibetan literature from Thomi Sambhota down to the twentieth century abounds with utterances and remarks about the significance and sanctity of Śabda Brahman.

III

The translation of the Buddhist canon from Sanskrit into Tibetan has been universally admitted as the most scientific and yet lucid ever before the present day UNESCO programme. The national endeavour in Bod-yul (Tibet) running through four centuries may be best described in esoteric diction as the union of *Prajñā* (Wisdom) of India and *Upāyakaūśalya* (Ingenuity) of Tibet. Infinite wealth and refinement of Sanskrit had to come to terms with the originality and independence of Tibetan. Western scholars who have mastered Iranic, Sanskritic and Sinic languages have not discovered any

affinities between Tibetan and any of these groups. Basil Gould and Hugh Richardson—speaking, reading and writing Tibetan almost like the Bod-pa (Tibetan)—wrote in 1943 that “Tibetan is widely separated in vocabulary, grammar and mode of thought from any language with which the learner is expected to be familiar”. Earlier a renowned master of languages, Denison Ross, had admitted the same, though he felt that his mastery of Russian was complementary to his mastery of Tibetan and *vice-versa*. Knowledge of Sanskrit, which Denison Ross and Hugh Richardson had acquired before beginning Tibetan, did not determine the proficiency of such eminent Tibetologists.

To obtain the exact meaning of Sanskrit words and phrases Thomi Sambhota and his successors had first resorted to a servile imitation of Sanskrit layout and style and ignored the claims of Tibetan syntax. This resulted in monstrous compositions which misrepresented the potentialities of Sanskrit and denied the genius of Tibetan language. These translations were later on considerably revised or altogether replaced; a few survive in the manuscripts discovered from the Caves of Thousand Buddhas and other sites in the north and north-west of Tibet. In the later or revised translations imagery and idiom of Sanskrit underwent welcome Tibetanization along with honourable acceptance of native idiom imagery.

No effort was spared to probe into the etymology of a *Śabda* or to unravel the aphorisms of *Vyākaraṇa*. Pāṇini and later *Sārasvata Vyākaraṇa* were studied with the same zeal as in the Tols in India. Thus while each word of the original was rendered into its exact appropriate in Tibetan, the Tibetan syntax was complied with. For every translation there would be one (or two) Indian scholar knowing Tibetan and one (or two) Tibetan scholar knowing Sanskrit. For support to translators, compilation of grammars and lexicons was also taken in hand. For widely used or commonplace terms like Buddha, Dharma or Sangha uniform sets of equivalents were fixed by a central council of translators. The result of the translations from the time of Thomi (c. 650) till the propagation by Atiśa (c. 1050) were later incorporated into two encyclopaedic collections called Kanjur and Tanjur. Kanjur stands for *Buddh-avacana* and Tanjur for *Śāstra*. Thus *Abhidharma*, *Prajñāpāramitā* and *Vinaya*, the treatises of Nāgārjuna, Asaṅga and Diñnāga or the latest Mahāyāna tracts from Pāla Bengal are all enshrined in these collections. But for this faithful and yet idiomatic translation many of the Buddhist Sanskrit works would have been lost forever. I need not recite the great Mahāyāna works recovered by Brian Hodgson and Rahula Sankrityayana or refer to the Gilgit Manuscripts read by Nalinaksha Dutt. I would however remind that Nāgārjuna’s *Suhṛllekha* or Diñnāga’s *Pramāṇasmuccaya* are yet to be discovered.

Through such scientific translations and regular exchanges with Nepali and Indian scholars, imagery and idiom of Sanskrit became a part and parcel of Tibetan literature and later, when Mongols embraced the *Dharma*, of Mongol literature. This impact is noticed most in the art of dialectics, science of poetics, and historiography. Buddhist logic with Indian art of polemics and Indian logician’s mannerisms flourished in refuge in Sakyā, Drepung and Urga. For models of rhetoric and prosody, men of letters in Tibet and Mongolia invariably referred back to *Kāvyaḍarśa* and such works from India. Dialectics or poetics were, however, not much developed in Tibet before the advent of *Dharma*; therefore such Indic elements in Tibetan literature

were more in the nature of innovations than revolutions. For a true revolution in Tibetan literature one has to notice the historiographical writings in Tibet. In the beginning, that is, before Sanskrit made its impact, the annals and chronicles of Tibet were inspired by the Chinese tradition of Shih-chi (the Record of the Scribe—the Record of a Historian). The Chinese method of record-keeping meant a meticulous regard for events and their dates. The Indian tradition of historical writings, as will be accepted by this distinguished gathering of Sanskritists, was indifferent to mundane happenings and their chronological sequence. The victory of Buddhism in Tibet was eventually the victory of Indian attitude to objects mundane. Men of letters, including historical scholars, submitted to the Indian school of history. The Tibetan nomenclature for records, Yig-tshang, yielded to a new form Chon-jung (Chos-hbyung) or the Growth of Religion. As the new nomenclature suggests the content of chronicles, that is, the subject-matter of history, was now the *Dharma*, its origin in India and its growth in the Trans-Himalayas. The *Dharma* was eternal and everything else was transitory; therefore the story of *Dharma* was history *par excellence*. The ideal history was no longer the Records (Yig-tshang) or the Line of Kings (Rgyal-rabs) but the Dharmakahini (Chos-hbyung). The lives and thoughts of the saints and scholars, the doctrinal debates and the construction of temples and monasteries were now the stuff for the historiographer. Even then a strong sense for historical sequence and a high regard for firm chronology continued to characterize the chronicles of Tibet. It cannot be denied that Tibetan historical writings contained much useful data for history of the neighbouring countries. Tārānātha's 'History of Buddhism' abounds with legends and myths but provides some unimpeachable evidence where Indian literary sources are silent.

A measure of Sanskrit impact on Tibetan and Mongol languages is provided by the wide currency of loan-words from Sanskrit. While a most faithful and yet perfect translation of the entire corpus of Sanskrit vocabulary was achieved and even many proper names like Aśoka and Vaiśali were rendered into Tibetan, for academic as well as sentimental grounds the Sanskrit forms of certain words were preferred. Thus while Buddha, Dharma and Sangha or Veda and *Vijñāna* were always expressed in Tibetan forms, terms like *Guru* and *Muni* or Śākyamuni and Pāṇini have been used in the original form down to our times. Not that good Tibetan equivalents could not be coined but that such coinage could not satisfactorily convey the full context of the term. It will be interesting to give a few examples of Sanskrit loan-words : Om, Mani, Padma, Vārāṇasi, Nālandā, Takṣaśilā. Some Sanskrit words underwent sea-change in spelling and pronunciation. Five such loan-words common to Tibetan and Mongol would be - Ārya, Dharma, Paṇḍita, Ratna, Vajra. In Mongol there was a greater zeal to have as many Sanskrit words as possible for the Mongol translators rightly found that in the relay of *Dharma* from Sanskrit to Mongol via Tibetan the original context would be more obscure. A thirteenth century Mongol version of *Lalitavistara* is conspicuously punctuated with Sanskrit words. I cull here some as per transcription of Professor Nicholas Poppe with regular Sanskrit form in brackets. Duvaja (Dhvaja), Lakṣa (Lakṣmaṇa), Bodi (Bodhi), Dibangkara (Dīpaṅkara), Erdini (Ratna), Arsi (Rṣi), Diyan (Dhyāna), Esrua (Iṣvara), Kadali (Kadali), Tusid (Tuṣita), Manggal ((Maṅgala), Sarati (Sārathi), Vinai (Vinaya), Yaśodari (Yaśodharā), Sidi (Siddhi), Darm-acari (Dharmacari), Kumuda (Kumuda), Vcir (Vajra), Maqaraja (Mahārāja), Maiydari (Maitreya), Sarvaartasidi (Sarvārthasiddhi), Akas (Ākāśa), Citiri (Citra), Usnir (Uṣṇiṣa), Arata Kalmi (Arāḍa Kalama), Badir (Patra), Badmi (Padma), Samadi

(Samādhi), Maqamayi (Mahāmāyā), Siramani (Śramaṇa), Vayiduri (Vaiḍūrya), Gunamati (Guṇamati), Ratnagarci (Ratnagarbha), Ridi (Riddhi). It is not necessary to extend the list of Sanskrit words in the Trans-Himalayas. I need however record my most pleasant experience in the Baikals regions to hear the Buriat Mongols uttering the words like Adisa (Atisa), Bandita (Paṇḍita) and Erteni (Ratna) without any efforts in their prayers in Mongol and their talks in Russian.

If I tell a Lāmā (Mongol or Tibetan) that modern researches have proved that there are substantial non-Āryan elements in Sanskrit vocabulary and that such words as Candana, Daṇḍa, Paṇḍita and Bilva are probably of Dravidian stock the Lāmā would retort that whatever is Sanskrit is Ārya. If I argue further I may offend the Trans-Himalayan believer be he a monk or a layman, a scholar or a muleteer. I had on several occasions told Lāmās that in modern Indian opinion Buddha Śākyamuni would be traced to Tibeto-Mongoloid stock and not Indo-Āryan. Far from pleasing the Lāmās my statement was a sort of blasphemy which pained them considerably. To a Northern Buddhist all moral and spiritual values are from Āryabhūmi (Phags-yul in Tibetan) and Buddha Śākyamuni could not but be Ārya and the language of *Prajñāpāramitā* was indeed Ārya or Sanskrit *par excellence*.

[Acknowledgement : My own on-the-spot observations as well as the words of pioneers in the study of Trans-Himalayas provide data for this paper. All necessary references will be found in V. Bhattacharya : *Bhojaparakāśa* (Calcutta 1939); N. Dutt : *Gilgit Manuscripts I* (Srinagar 1939); N. Dutt (ed) : *Prajna* (Gangtok 1961); and F. W. Thomas : "Brahmi Script in Central Asian Sanskrit Manuscripts" in *Asiatica Festsehrift Friedrich Weller* (Leipzig 1954). In a recent paper entitled "Study of Sanskrit Grammar in Tibet" (*Bulletin of Tibetology*, Vol. VII No. 2) B. Ghosh narrates the history of Sanskrit grammar in Tibet down to the nineteenth century. Regarding Tibetan (and Mongol) sentiments on Buddha's nationality vide N. C. Sinha : *Greater India : Fact, Fiction & Fetish* (Bhagalpur, 1971) and "Indic elements in Tibetan culture" in *Man in India*, Vol. 49, No. 1. For an authoritative statement of Tibetan sentiments about Tibet's indebtedness to Sanskrit vide the Dalai Lama's address to the Buddha Jayanti Symposium on November 29, 1956, in Shakabpa : *Tibet* (New Haven 1967), Appendix.]

THE THIRTEENTH DALAI LAMA

—LOBSANG RAPGAY

Jetsun Ngawang Lobsang Thubten Gyatso was born at Dhakpa Langdun on the fifth day of the fifth month of the Fire-Mouse year (May 27, 1876). His father Kunga Rinchen was from Gonk-kar Lugtod and his mother Lobsang Dolma was a descendant of Bagsam Ku-ke, an incarnate of Gampo. When the 12th Dalai Lama passed away in 1875, the Tibetan National Assembly deputed a search party consisting of Gyumed Khensur Lobsang Thargye Chogda and others who visited the sacred lake of Lamoi Latso at Chokhorgyal about ninety miles south-east of Lhasa and saw visions of the future Dalai Lama's birthplace. When the Nechung State Oracle was consulted, he confirmed the discovery of the boy of Dhakpa Langdun to be the next Dalai Lama.

On the fifteenth of the ninth month of the Fire-Ox year (1877) the Tibetan Government officially confirmed the discovery of the 13th Dalai Lama. The child was brought to Gungthung, four miles east of Lhasa and there at the monastery he was initiated into celibacy by the Panchen Lama who gave him the name Thubten Gyatso. At Lhasa, the capital city of Tibet, the whole population, men and women, thronged together to welcome the Dalai Lama. The procession led to the Potala where the ceremony of Sitringasol (Consecration on the Golden Throne) was performed. The next days were heavily scheduled for the young Dalai Lama as he had to make the customary visits to the major monastic universities and Nechung in Lhasa. The Dalai Lama formally began his studies in religion and philosophy under five special assistant tutors. When he was 14, he attended the annual Monlam (The Great Prayer) Festival which begins on the fifth of the first month of the new year.

In 1886 the Regent Choskyi Gyaltzen Kundeling, after 12 years of national service, passed away. Since the Dalai Lama was still a minor, the Tibetan National Assembly met to elect a new Regent. Demo Trinley Rapgay was appointed to the high post. Even during his early years the Dalai Lama indirectly experienced some of the problems of state which he was to directly confront later. Though he was engrossed in his religious and spiritual studies, he attended important state and religious ceremonies and meetings.

In 1894 an unprecedented change was effected in the formation of the cabinet; a monk official was introduced for the first time. In the past the monastic interest was always fairly represented, as the members of the cabinet were all lay people. Besides this, the introduction of additional secretaries at the lower level of the administration made room for smooth and efficient functioning of the government.

On the eighth day of the eighth month of the Wood-Sheep Year (1895) His Holiness assumed secular and temporal power over Tibet. When His Holiness was 20, he was fully ordained by His Tutors, Purchog Lobsang

27th May 1976 marked the centenary of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's birth. Since the *Bulletin* was then defunct, notice of the event is made now.

Tsultrim and Lingtul Lobsang Lungtog. Two years later he completed the highest examination in Dharma-Darsana by successfully appearing before senior examiners of the three major monastic universities.

Assumption of temporal power was not easy. The new Dalai Lama found opposition from the ex-Regent Demo Trinley Rabgay. The Government unearthed a plot to kill the Dalai Lama. Norbu Tsering and Lobsang Dondon, brothers of the ex-Regent were the backbone of the plot and were responsible for the participation of the ex-Regent and Pal Ri Tulku and Nag Tulku in the plot. They were found guilty of conspiracy against His Holiness and thereby sentenced to life imprisonment.

A few years later His Holiness made the customary visit to Chokyangyal, and a pilgrimage to Southern Tibet. While visiting Samye, he caught small-pox but recovered within two weeks, and then returned to Lhasa. Meanwhile border and trade problems with British Empire in India were mounting and the relation between the two countries gradually deteriorated.

The British resorted to force, and in 1903 Colonel Younghusband invaded Tibet. Many Tibetans were killed as the British marched toward the capital, Lhasa. Even after the British army had reached Gyantse, the Tibetan commanders made a vain attempt to resist the British force. When the British were only 35 miles from Lhasa, the Tibetan National Assembly convened an emergency meeting and decided that it was not safe for the Dalai Lama to remain in Lhasa. Interrupting his 3 year meditation, His Holiness appointed the Ganden Tripa Lobsang Gyaltzen as Regent during his absence and gave him clear directives on how to deal with the British.

At dawn of the fifteenth of the sixth month of the Wood-Dragon Year (July 30, 1904) His Holiness, with a small escort left Lhasa and headed north. After three months of arduous journey he reached Mongolia. He was received by Jetsun Dampa Lama, the ruler of Outer Mongolia and other chieftains with great pomp and ceremony. Wherever he went people thronged in huge numbers to pay their respects and homage. His years in Mongolia were spent mainly in giving religious discourses to the people who came from all over Mongolia to hear him. This popularity consequently made Jetsun Dampa envious and consequently the relations between the two were strained.

In the following year there was a terrible drought in Mongolia which caused untold hardship to the people. The people approached His Holiness the Dalai Lama to use his spiritual influence to alleviate their suffering. His Holiness performed special prayers and the appropriate rites and, not long after, there was rain in the country.

Meanwhile the situation in Tibet called for the return of His Holiness. The Tibetan government sent a delegation consisting of Tsechog Lobsang Kachog and two other officials to request His Holiness to return to Lhasa. A month later an escort arrived to accompany His Holiness back to Tibet. But it took several months before he reached Lhasa.

In 1906 on his way back, he visited Kokonor where he was received by many dignitaries and head lamas. In Kumbum, Amdo, he received scriptural teachings from Lama Dorji Chang Tenzin Gyatso called Shvamarpa (Red Hat).

The Czar of Russia sent his Internal Minister, Honser, with presents and a request asking His Holiness to bless him with a son. His Holiness accepted the presents and assured the Minister that the Czar's request would be met. Prayers and rites were performed, and a few months later, a son was born to the Czar. This increased the faith of the Czar in the Dalai Lama so much so that he permitted Buddhists to build temples and also form a Sangha in Russia. This prince was known as "The (Spiritual) Son of the Dalai Lama".

In 1908 His Holiness paid a short visit to China in order to bring an understanding between Tibet and China regarding the growing border tensions. He was received with great respects and ceremony and he stayed at the Yellow Palace, originally built for the Great Fifth (Dalai Lama). The Mayor of Peking and the Internal and External Ministers of the Chinese Court were there to receive him at the railway station. During His stay, he visited various places and monasteries of importance in Peking. His Holiness met the Empress Dowager Tzu-hsi, and had talks with her on the relations between the two countries. In 1908 the young Emperor passed away, and after the proper rituals were performed a cousin was enthroned. The Dalai Lama was present at the enthronement.

In 1909 he arrived at Nagchuka where he was received by the Panchen Lama and the representatives of the Ganden Tri Rimpoche and the Manchu Ambans. At Phurbu Chok he was met by the 3 Lonchens (Senior Ministers) and Lama dignitaries. A few months later he entered Lhasa. He was presented with a new seal on behalf of the people. The inscription on it read "By the prophecy of the Lord, Buddha, the Dalai Lama is the Holder of the Buddhist Faith on the face of the Earth". The seal was symbolic of the Tibetan people's defiance against Chinese interference in their affairs.

When His Holiness was 35, fresh trouble with the Chinese broke out. The Chinese commander, Erh-feng, at the instigation of the Ambans attacked Bah-li, Tsalho, Tso-sang and killed many monks. Monasteries were razed to the ground and religious scriptures and statues were desecrated and burnt. Erh-feng in his success continued committing atrocities while the Tibetan Government looked for a way of peace and reconciliation. The Amban added to the problem, by refusing to hand over a letter from the Regent and the Tibetan cabinet to the Manchu Emperor. In 1909 the Tibetan Government learnt that a large Chinese force was being sent to Tibet to police the trade marts as provided under the Trade Regulations signed in Calcutta in April 1908. In Lhasa the Chinese garrison was reinforced with 6,000 soldiers. The Tibetan Government's numerous protests went unheeded and the several telegrams that were sent to Peking for the withdrawal of the Chinese troops were ignored. On the third day of the first Tibetan month of the Iron-Dog Year (1910) the Chinese army marched through Lhasa, firing indiscriminately upon the Lhasa police. They also fired at the Potala.

The Dalai Lama immediately appointed a new Regent, Tri Rimpoche Ngawang Lobsang Tsemoling. He told his officials that he was going to Yatung and from there he would instruct them in dealing with the Chinese. The Chinese sent soldiers to pursue the fleeing Dalai Lama and his group. Consequently His Holiness had no choice but to cross into India, contrary to his earlier plans.

Before he left Yatung, the Dalai Lama left a letter with David Macdonald, the British Trade Agent in Yatung, to be forwarded to the British Government in India. The Dalai Lama arrived in Kalimpong where he was the guest of Raja Kazi Ugen of Bhutan who made his house available to His Holiness. After a week in Darjeeling, the Dalai Lama left for Calcutta where he received a seventeen gun salute in his honour and was escorted in a regal carriage to Hastings House. On March 14, 1910 His Holiness met the Viceroy Lord Minto and gave him an account of the recent happenings in Tibet and why he was forced to leave Tibet. The Viceroy questioned His Holiness carefully though he did not commit himself to anything. His Holiness used the opportunity to clarify the issue of Dorjjeff, the Buriat Mongol of Russia. His Holiness pointed out that Dorjjeff was now in his own country and even when he held a place of honour in Tibet it was only as a spiritual adviser.

The Chinese meanwhile realised their mistake in declaring the Dalai Lama deposed. Lo-Ti-tai was sent by the Amban to Darjeeling to offer the Dalai Lama the restoration of his title and to request him to return to Tibet. The Dalai Lama did not fall for the trap. He sent a guarded reply saying that the relations between China and Tibet could never be the same again, and the only way to solve the present crisis would be the good offices of a third party. The British, His Holiness suggested, should participate in any discussion between the two countries.

But in the meantime China was passing through the revolution led by Sun Yat-sen, and the Expulsion of the Manchu led to confusion among the Chinese troops in Tibet. Erh-feng returned to Szechuan. Fighting broke out between the Chinese and the Tibetans in various parts of Tibet. The Dalai Lama kept close watch over the developments, and instructed his officials to organize a War Department and to prepare for military action. The fighting in Tibet grew more fierce and the Sera monks and the Banashol Khampas took active part in them. The Dalai Lama finally decided to leave India and return to Tibet. He thanked the British Government for the hospitality they had shown to him during his stay, and conveyed his desire for improving the relations between the two countries. He also requested the British to participate in the reconciliation between the Chinese and the Tibetans. The Dalai Lama reached Yatung and spent the week there, and blessed Tibetans all over the country in continuing their fight against the Chinese. An escort of 200 monks along with Khampa soldiers volunteered to bring His Holiness safely to Lhasa.

In the meantime the British Government protested to the Chinese Government against the presence of Chinese troops in Tibet. The Chinese troops themselves were facing many problems. Supplies were dwindling; and reinforcements were not coming. Finally they decided to surrender to the Tibetans, and asked the Nepalese Representative in Tibet to intercede on their behalf. The Tibetan soldiers triumphantly escorted the Chinese out of Tibet. On the 16th day of the 12th month of the Water-Mouse year (January 1913) the Dalai Lama returned to Lhasa. Shortly after his return to Lhasa, he issued a proclamation to all his officials and subjects declaring the independence of Tibet, and affirming his own office and title to Lord Buddha's Command. He further entered into a treaty with Mongolia (Urga : January 1913). Both countries declared their independence from Manchu rule and affirmed their sovereignty. They stressed the importance of strengthening the ties between the two Buddhist countries.

The Dalai Lama took all necessary steps to preserve the independence of Tibet. He led the country towards full national development and integration. For the first time in Tibet's history paper currency was introduced. The paper was hand-made and their designs were traditional. Two students were sent to Calcutta to study printing of currency. Postage stamps were introduced.

Kyibuk Wangdhu Norbu was sent abroad for training in telegraphy. In 1918, Mondong Khenrab Kunsang was sent to England for training in mining. Gokar Sonam Gonpo was sent for military training and Rikhang Rigsen Dorji on electrical works.

His Holiness realised how important it was to have a strong army if a country was to defend its freedom. He renovated the Tibetan army. He hired a Japanese military expert, Jasujiro Yajima, who trained a special group of the Tibetan army in Japanese method of warfare. His Holiness increased army recruitment and imported military equipment from abroad. He also strengthened the authority of the Tibetan Government all over the country. For the first time a Kalon (Minister) was sent to Kham as Governor, with overall civil and military authority.

While applying military resistance on the Chinese as and when needed, the Dalai Lama constantly sought for a tripartite conference to solve the differences honourably. When the tripartite conference materialised (1913), His Holiness made it certain that Tibet was attending the meeting on equal footing as the Chinese. Therefore, when the Chinese sent their representative, Ivan Chen, they had in effect accorded equal status to the Tibetan representative and thus recognised the treaty-making powers of Tibet. In early 1914 a Tripartite Convention between the British, Chinese and Tibetan was agreed upon. In spite of the agreement the Chinese continued to talk of suzerainty over Tibet and claims on eastern borders of Tibet. In an attempt to resolve the irreconcilable stand taken by the Chinese, the Tibetan Government signed a treaty with the British (Simla, 3 July 1914).

During the First World War and till his passing away (1933), Tibet was treated by other countries as a fully independent state. His Holiness the Dalai Lama was responsible for much of this recognition given by other countries. He took active interest in every aspect of the Tibetan people. His vision of the future events and his awareness of the great past were reflected in the national testament he gave to the people of Tibet.

In 1916 His Holiness established the Central Medical College at Lhasa. He appointed Khenrab Norbu as the principal and selected students on a geographic representative basis. He introduced primary schools all over the country and much improvement of the Potala Secretariat School was carried out. However, not all the reforms the Dalai Lama introduced to improve the conditions of the Tibetan people, were welcomed. When he had an English school started at Dekyi-Lingka at Lhasa, the Abbots of the three major monastic universities objected and soon after the school was closed.

In the ecclesiastical field, His Holiness came down with a heavy hand upon the monastic institutions. He had their discipline improved and emphasised their academic development. He introduced the graded academic curriculum leading to the Geyshe degree. In spite of his busy schedule, he

found time to examine monks in the Norbulingka annuals and himself adjudicated their dialectical debates. He further examined them during the Monlam annual examinations for the highest Geyshe degree.

He was the first Dalai Lama to realise fully the importance of social and economic development of the country. He introduced quite a number of humanitarian and progressive reforms. He abolished capital punishment and amputation except in the cases of those who plotted against the Government. He made regulations to prevent exploitation of peasants by the upper classes. Every official was required to wear traditional Tibetan dress and identify himself with the people.

In November 1933 the Dalai Lama caught cold; he suddenly passed away on the thirteenth day of the eleventh month of the Water Bird Year (December 17, 1933). Peoples of all sects and all regions mourned the loss of the Father of the Nation.

GENERAL HUANG MU-SUNG AT LHASA, 1934

—H. E. RICHARDSON

It seems timely to follow up Dr. Sinha's interesting article "The Simla Convention 1914 : a Chinese Puzzle" in the *Bulletin of Tibetology*, No. 1 (1977) with the story of an occasion when the Chinese were unwillingly reminded of the continuing effect of that document on Tibetan political thinking.

The Chinese Government was quick to take advantage of the death of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama by sending a mission to Lhasa under General Huang Mu-sung, a high-ranking official, on the pretext of offering condolences. Present at Lhasa during that visit was Rai Bahadur Norbhu Dhondup, Assistant Political Officer in Sikkim to whom the Indian Government owes much gratitude for the influence of his advice to the Tibetans and for the detailed information about the events of those six months which he was able to obtain through his long friendship with leading Tibetan officials. The negotiations which took place between the Chinese and the Tibetans have been summarized in my *Tibet and its History*, pp 141-143 and in *Tibet, a Political History* by Tsipon W.D. Shakabpa, pp 276, 277. Li Tieh-tseng in *The Historical Status of Tibet*, pp 168-177 gives a longer account but it re-arranges the sequence of events to some extent and uses terminology of a more technical western character than can be readily encompassed by the Tibetan vocabulary; it may be of interest, therefore, to put on record a fuller account of the exchanges derived from Tibetan sources.

The first problem to face the new and untried Tibetan administration still deeply in the throes of internal intrigues, was the arrival of a radio set sent ahead of the general. Objections by the Kashag to its installation were ignored, but the Tibetans did not make an issue of this.

When the mission arrived on 25th April Huang, who had sent in advance a proclamation that he was coming solely for religious purposes, was received with exceptional honours. He himself made a good impression by tireless and courteous diplomacy, by a display of reverence and piety in holy places and by lavish gifts and entertainments. His retinue proved less popular and offended Tibetan susceptibilities in many ways. They rode furiously through the streets of Lhasa, brawled among themselves and, surprisingly to the Tibetans, failed to show proper respect to their leader. They also complained about the playing of "British music"—probably including God Save the King!—by Tibetan military bands. The monks showed obvious dislike of the visitors and mocked and jostled Huang's escort so much that they had to be restrained by a special order.

Huang's first move was to offer a seal and a memorial tablet for the late Dalai Lama. The Tibetan Government at first refused on the ground that as the Dalai Lama was dead there was no need for a seal; but, under pressure and finding there was nothing compromising on the gifts, the Kashag after consulting the National Assembly agreed to accept them. Huang then asked that all the high officials should go to his headquarters to receive the objects; but eventually he went himself to the Potala to make the presentation.

No one believed that Huang had come without any political purpose but, although he had private discussions with the Regent and high officials, he shrewdly refrained from making any formal overture. So, after sometime a meeting of the National Assembly was held at which it was decided to broach the question of the frontier, making it clear that "while Tibet and China should be considered as two eyes", Tibet must remain independent. The Kashag accordingly raised the matter with Huang and also referred to their difficulties over the Panchen Lama. Huang told them that he had met the Panchen and was certain he had no intention of trying to return to Tibet by force. As for political matters he pretended that he had come solely on religious business and had no authority to enter any sort of negotiations. The Kashag pointed out that he had been described as second only to Ch'iang Kai-shek and must surely have some power.

Huang then unfolded his brief. The Tibetan Government should declare themselves part of China as one of the Five Races and should set up a republic. They should obey the instructions of the Central Government and in return they would be protected against all outsiders.

The National Assembly, which was consulted on all matters during Huang's visit, debated these proposals for two days and replied that Tibet had been ruled by thirteen Dalai Lamas and would never become a part of Chinese republic. They would defend their independence to the last man against any invader.

When the Kashag reported this to General Huang his urbanity was somewhat ruffled and he tried the effect of scarcely veiled threats. The Panchen Lama, he said, had joined the Chinese Republic and if he tried to return to Tibet by force the Chinese Government would do nothing to stop him. The Kashag were not impressed and reminded Huang of what he had told them a few days before. Nevertheless, the matter was again referred to the National Assembly which re-affirmed its stand and signed a paper to that effect.

Huang, obviously disappointed, telegraphed to Nanking for instructions and, although he was advised to return, he did not give up at once. In another meeting he watered down his demands, saying that membership of the Five Races did not necessarily mean adopting a republican government. The important thing was that Tibet should rely on China. He said that Great Britain in a treaty with Japan had acknowledged that Tibet was subject to China. The Tibetans replied that they knew of no such treaty and, if there were one, it would not affect them. As for China's ability to help, they asked what the Chinese had one for Mongolia and Manchuria. The National Assembly was consulted again. They bluntly rejected all Huang's proposals and stressed their friendship with the British Government whose treatment of them even after 1904 they described as fair. China was the only enemy they had to fear.

Huang, determined to persist but not willing to risk the further loss of face, then handed over the negotiations to Wu Min-yuan a member of his staff who had been born in Lhasa to a Tibetan mother. Wu visited the Kashag and explained that Huang was too severely disappointed to do any more but that he himself had some informal suggestions to make. It was believed in Lhasa that before Wu's approach large presents had been given to leading officials

and it was expected that the Kashag might give way but that the National Assembly would stand firm. Wu's proposals, which were made in writing, were debated for several days both by the Kashag and the National Assembly. The points raised and the opinion of each body on them are detailed below:

1. "Relations between the Central Government and the Tibetan Government should be those of benefactor and Lama".

The Kashag accepted this on condition that "Chinese Government" should be substituted for "Central Government". The National Assembly agreed.

2. "The Chinese Government should always regard Tibet as a holy and religious country". Agreed.

3. "Tibet has religion, men, and complete administrative arrangements, therefore China should consider Tibet to be independent and should not interfere in its internal administration". Agreed.

4. "No Chinese troops should be kept on Tibet's frontiers". Agreed.

5. "Five thousand troops should be selected from the Tibetan army as Frontier Guards. They should be posted on the various frontiers and China should pay, arm, and train the troops".

The Kashag said troops could be posted on the frontiers but there was no need for a specially named force; and no pay or arms were wanted from the Chinese Government. The Assembly said it was not necessary to post troops on the frontier unless an emergency arose.

6. "A Chinese Officer should be posted at Lhasa to advise the Tibetan Government. He should be given an escort out of the Frontier Force and should control the movements of the whole force".

The Kashag preferred that no Chinese officer should be posted at Lhasa. If one were appointed he should have nothing to do with the Tibetan army but he might have a small escort. The Simla agreement specified 300 men. The Assembly said that 25 servants should suffice for an escort and any Chinese officer should strictly observe the condition of non-interference in Tibetan internal affairs.

7. "The Tibetan Government should consult the Chinese Government before corresponding with other nations about external affairs".

The Kashag said that Tibet is independent and would deal with its external affairs without consulting the Chinese. The Assembly agreed, adding that the Tibetan Government would correspond with all nations, "headed by the British", whenever they wanted.

8. "The Chinese Government should be consulted about the appointment of officers of the rank of Shappé and above."

The Kashag refused but said that the Chinese Government could be informed after such appointments had been made. The Assembly agreed.

9. "China should recognize the boundary existing at the time of the Emperor Kuang Hsu". That apparently meant the frontier before the invasion by Chao Erh Feng in 1908-1910.

Both the Kashag and Assembly accepted that as favourable but demanded additional territory including Nyarong, Bathang, Lithang and the Golok country.

10. "China should fight or else mediate with any nations that try to invade Tibet".

The Kashag and Assembly replied that as Tibet is a religious country no one is likely to attack her. If anyone does, Tibet will deal with them without Chinese help. The question of mutual help could be considered if it arose.

11. "China should be informed when the incarnation of a Dalai Lama is discovered so that the Chinese Government can offer him a seal and a title".

The Kashag agreed. The National Assembly said that China should be informed only after the installation had taken place in order to avoid trouble such as was created in the case of the Sixth and Seventh Dalai Lamas.

12. "The Tibetan Government should invite the Panchen Lama to return at once, should restore to him his former powers, estates and property, and should guarantee that no harm should fall on him or his followers. If that were done the Chinese Government would take away his arms and munitions".

The Kashag and Assembly replied that the Panchen Lama being a religious person required no arms or ammunition; they would welcome him back and guarantee his personal safety if the Chinese took away his arms. They added that he should be asked to return via India in accordance with the wishes of the late Dalai Lama.

13. "All Tibetan officers in China should receive salaries from the Chinese Government".

The Kashag agreed. The Assembly said it was a matter of indifference to them but only officials appointed by the Tibetan Government should attend meetings.

14. "All half-Chinese in Tibet should be under the sole jurisdiction of the Chinese officer at Lhasa".

The Kashag and Assembly replied that when the Chinese were turned out of Tibet in 1912 the Tibetan Government asked all Chinese to return to China. Those born in Tibet sought permission to remain and signed an agreement to pay taxes and submit to Tibetan jurisdiction. This article was, therefore, unacceptable.

On receiving these replies Huang wrote to the Kashag asking that all of Wu Min-yuan's proposals should be accepted and laying particular stress on three demands: 1. that Tibet should admit subordination to China; 2. that all direct correspondence with outside nations should cease or, failing

that, China should be consulted before appointments were made to the post of Shappé or higher ranks.

After long deliberation the National Assembly decided 1. that Tibet might be considered subordinate to China to the extent and on the terms laid down in the Simla treaty; 2. that Tibet would correspond with all nations, headed by the British, and would not consult the Chinese Government on the subject; 3. in view of religious ties, Tibet would inform China after the appointment of officers of the rank of Shappé and above.

The National Assembly expressly desired that the British Government should be a party to any agreement reached between Tibet and China. Huang refused bluntly to consider this last proposal but referred the other replies to Nanking. He was then ordered to return to China for consultation and he left Lhasa towards the end of October.

I believe that to a generally accurate record of events between April and October 1934 and it is largely confirmed by the account of Li Tieh-tseng who admits in conclusion that the Tibetan authorities were not yet ready to place their trust and reliance on the Chinese Government of the day. The best success he can claim is that the Tibetans were willing in principle to resume full relationship once the overall differences were settled. The magnitude of those differences shown by repeated Tibetan assertions of their independence is something Mr. Li does not stress; and when in 1935 Mr. Williamson asked the Tibetan Government about their views on Chinese suzerainty they stated that the Simla Convention in exchange for territorial concessions from the Chinese they had definitely not accepted even the nominal suzerainty of China in their talks with General Huang.

Although, in the event, it was shown that the conditions of the Simla Convention remained the guiding principle of the Tibetan Government, the British Government realized that by consenting in 1933 to the Tibetans attempting to reach a direct agreement with China provided it did not prejudice their obligations to the British Government, they had allowed a departure from the Simla Convention which might have led to an agreement being reached from which they were excluded. The earliest opportunity was, therefore, taken of letting the Tibetan Government know that the British Government would expect to be represented at any further such negotiations.

The Chinese, moreover, had succeeded in making a small hole in the Simla agreements by leaving a small liaison mission at Lhasa; but by so doing they attracted a countervailing British Mission which continued in existence after August 1947 as the Indian Mission and in 1954 was converted into a Consulate-General.

MIPHAM ON RAMAYANA

—B. GHOSH

II

A free translation of the two excerpts from Mipham is attempted here.

Excerpt No. 1

MISRAKAVYABHEDA

Meaning of the expression 'Se-tu-beings': setu means canto also installation of bridge. In the present context it means 'to compose a Mahakavya' with many Sargas (cantos). The word Adi (Sogs) means the Mahakavya which is composed spontaneously and includes here the Kavya in the chain of words without being split into Sargas, otherwise (Setubandha-) refers to the episode of King Ramana (Rama) who led the army to the country of the demons and construction of bridge across the ocean. Some of the versified epics like Setubandha are generally composed spontaneously in the language of Ma-ga-dha (i.e. Prakrita), which is indeed the most excellent form (F. 22 (b) p. 44).

Excerpt No. 2

UDATTALANKARA

The God Mahesvara granted the Lord of Demons, Ravana Dasanana, the boon that he would be conqueror of the three worlds. That Ravana who forced three worlds to be his slave, had the determination of mind to risk cutting his own heads (as offering).

The illustrious Ramana (Rama) a descendant of the Royal family of Raghu, also known as Raghava, was himself an Avatara (Lama). His father Dasaratha, ordered him to go to forest accompanied by consort Sita, abandoning (claims to) kingdom. He obeyed father's command and went to the forest. The wise (Rama) did not shirk from killing Raksasa Dasanana. So his obedience to father's command and going to forest renouncing Kingdom graphically illustrated the alankara suggesting magnanimity or generosity of soul. The style or rhetoric of speech here suggests Udattalankara. Although it is customary in India to narrate the exploits and adventures of Rama for many days, here I would narrate the story in brief. (Folio—126 (a) p. 251).

Although the demon king Ravana worshipped Mahesvara for long but could not attain accomplishment, he himself chopped one after other his heads (excepting one) and offered those in the sacrificial altar; though one head was left unchopped so he remained celebrated as Dasanana of Lanka. Mahesvara was pleased to observe the brave-hearted performance of such daring act, he

requested Devi Uma to go and grant the boon for this to Ravana. At this Goddess went and promised to grant whatever accomplishment Ravana desired, but Ravana refused to receive boon from a woman. Uma was enraged and cursed Ravana saying "In future your Kingdom will come to an end because of dishonouring woman". Again Mahadeva deputed his second son having monkey-face. Ravana, being asked what he desired, refused to receive boon from a monkey. The monkey-faced one was also enraged at this refusal and cursed Ravana saying, "In future your kingdom would be destroyed by the monkeys". Then Mahesvara himself appeared and blessed Ravana by restoring his (chopped) heads; and, because he did not cut the Central one which was the horse-head, blessed him with life eternal. Mahadeva granted the boon that Ravana would be victorious over three worlds. Ravana thus reduced three worlds to his slaves. (F. 126(b) P. 252).

(As an instrument of subduing Ravana) among ten incarnations of Vishnu, the second Rama (first being Parashurama) was scion of Raghu's lineage and called Raghava. His father Dasaratha told Rama: In olden days during the great war between the gods and demons, I took the side of the gods and fought the demons; I was wounded with various sharp weapons by the demons. Then my consort Kaikeyi attended me and nursed me, and in return I granted this Kingdom to your (step) brother Bharata; and (now) you Ramana accompanied by your wife Sita, should go (in exile) to the forest. Rama with generous heart agreed and went to forest with Sita.

His wife Sita was born in the country of demons; (even though) she was exquisitely beautiful, there appeared omens of Lanka's destruction. So the baby was placed in a copper casket and thrown into water. The casket was eventually carried into the field through channels of water and found by some husbandmen who uncovered the casket and saved the handsome baby. (F. 127(a)—P. 253 (Folio 127(b) missing).

Having known that Sita was pulled away by (false) sounds (calls) they went on search and came across a reservoir of hot water of yellow grey colour filled with gaseous objects. To trace the source of this water they came to the valley where King Bali and (his brother) Sugriva were arrayed with troops. The dust (storm) raised by the encounter polluted that water. When (Rama) arrived there King Sugriva told that they were fighting for the kingdom. "I shall win against Bali within three days. You should make friendship with me." Rama was an accomplished archer, he meted out certain death to the victim, and after slaying the victim he would despatch the slain to be born in heavens. So Rama promised to kill king Bali by his arrow. But, on the first day Rama only enjoyed the fight of the monkeys. On second day he (Rama) did not shoot because he could not distinguish between the two monkeys. On third day, as a sure mark of identification he tucked up a mirror on the forehead of Sugriva. (Folio 128(a)—P. 255 Folio 128(b) missing).

Then he (Hanumanta) came near Sita and said "I have been sent by King Ramana; you now come with me". At this when Sita could not take his word (Hanumanta) presented the King's ring (to Sita). Then Sita told "How could I be able to escape (run away). If the King himself possesses power he should demonstrate that." Carrying this message he (Hanumanta) moved with a great leap (across the ocean) and appeared in front of Ramana. Thus being informed (by Hanumanta) of all the events, Rama immediately collected a great monkey army and went to the sea shore.

Rama asked the great sage Valmiki about the kinds (species) of animals in the ocean. Valmiki spoke of the aquatic animals like Te'imi (whale) measuring a hundred length which swallow all fishes. Again there are other more terrifying animals which can devour Te'imi, and there are others who can devour the latter and so on. Then the monkey army constructed a bridge with their own hands and through the bridge Rama reached the country of the demons.

Even today remnants of the bridge are still in existence. This is considered by the heretics of India (=non-Buddhists=Hindus) as a very sacred place and it is customary to pay a visit there.

It is said that the entire earth (of the country Lanka) is covered under a mantle of blood of demons, and the soil, rock and rivulets there are of red colour. This place in the south of India is famous as Setubandha Rameshvara. (Folio 129(a) P. 257, Folio 129(b) missing).

(After having allowed himself to be taken prisoner Hanuman ...) practised further deceit. He asked them whether and if so they had any laws (about trespassers and accused persons). "According to laws on my maternal side at first the person is thrown in the store of provision and enough food is granted so that the victim is choked to death. And following paternal custom the tail is wrapped with cloth made from furs and soaked in Til Oil; then the tail is put into fire". (Hanuman) offered to be killed following the father's custom. (Ravana) said to the demons, "it is inauspicious to witness death of a monkey so you keep yourself in your respective houses". When the demons acted accordingly (i.e. went inside their houses) Lankapuri which was a Tripuri (three-tier city) surrounded by high wall of lac consumed by the fire of (Hanuman's) tail in a moment.

After Sitā was rescued, it is said Rama by his divine power agitated the ocean in a way that the waves were all diverted towards Lanka and the demons could not sail their boats towards "country of men" because of obstruction by the whirling waves; so by virtue of this act the harm to the country of man (India) was stopped. Some demons flew away to secure places and some of them woke the brother of Ravana, Kumbha Karna (whom they called) the "sage of trance" from his deep slumber by pouring hot water into his ear... and Ravana was killed.....(Folio, 130(a) P.259).

III

Translation of excerpts has to be less literal and more free, particularly because the full text of the original (Miphām) has not so far been found; and the gaps in the excerpts from extant versions are vital. Besides Miphām, the author, in this work depicts the greatness and merits of Sanskrit poetics and rhetoric. He is not obviously concerned with a full and perfect account of Ramayana.

In the excerpts given above the Tibetan scholar expounds the various Alankaras: characters and styles like Misrakavyabheda and Udattalankara and seeks illustrations from Valmiki's Mahakavya. It is not within the scope of my article to enquire whether Miphām had access to the full story of Ramayana as in the Sanskrit original attributed to Valmiki. It is only relevant to note that Ramayana story was recorded in Tibetan tradition even a

thousand years before Mipham wrote. This is borne out by the finds from Tunhuang.

The events and the sequence of the events in the story as in Mipham on poetics and rhetoric do not conform to those in the Indian originals extant. The ominous curses of Siva's consort Uma and Siva's monkey-faced son are not known in Indian records.

The descriptions "country of man", for India and "hermit of Samadhi", for Kumbhakarna are indeed Tibetan coinings which express the mind of Hindu India very aptly. The Tibetan expression for heretics or outsiders—(non-Buddhist or Hindu) is not derogatory to India, the Land of Enlightenment.

Some renderings from Sanskrit to Tibetan in Mipham's work are not conventional. The Tibetan word Lama used for Avatara does indeed great honour to Hindu concept.

(Concluded)

Due to lack of adequate space
and unavoidable circumstances NOTES
& TOPICS and BOOK REVIEWS
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